THE NEW REPUBLIC

Surprise Attack

The Editors

The Plot to "Get Reuther"

Richard L. Strout

Please Buy My Ideology!

Louis J. Halle

Farmers as Voters

Louis H. Bean

February 29, 1960, 25 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Bon Voyage

★ President Eisenhower is off doing what he does best, showing a kindly, smiling, uncomplicated, well-meaning face to crowds of applauding people. Eisenhower likes people and they like him. This time it's Latin America. It's fun to be idolized, it's fun to see colorful countries, it's fun to get away from hateful decisions at home – most of all it's fun to be told you are sacrificing yourself by doing what's fun! The sacrifice consists of using up energy and standing under the hot sun while people cheer you and traveling 15,560 miles or so in a big plane and preaching those doctrines of friendliness, free enterprise and fraternity in which you ardently believe.

Well, we think Eisenhower does these things well – as well as a benign constitutional monarch, say; in fact better than Khrushchev, who complicates matters by intruding specific ideas and who can't resist the temptation to bully and threaten. After 10 days Eisenhower will come back to Puerto Rico to rest up and play golf at the luxurious Rockefeller resort where the Gulf breeze rattles the palm branches and the water creams up the beaches. This humble reporter got down there at the last Governors' Conference and approves the place: it is the home of the double-deferential. A beach attendant would invariably reply "Yes-sir, sir," or "No-sir, sir," which is twice as mannerly as the single title and more insidious than the native rum.

Stocks and Inflation

★ Does the stock market know something that we don't know? Is it discounting bad times to come? Just as this is written it is bouncing up again – from the lowest point in 12 months – but it's general course since January 1 has been abruptly down. Many wonder if it won't turn down again. There has been a bull market (upward) for about five years. When Democrats won the 1958 election Eisenhower and the press launched a sharp scare campaign against "inflation." Politically it was successful – it frightened the Johnson-Rayburn leadership in Congress, but it had one curious side-effect: It sent timid people into Wall Street. Inflation – ? They bought stocks! Well, inflation hasn't come. Some never thought it would; Eisenhower says it was under the bed but he exorcized it. Anyway, the new stockowners are noticing now, for the first time, that they have bid the market way up beyond the safe relationship of stock to bond yields. It is a danger signal and no mistake. They are beginning to sell stocks. Of course business is good; not so good as predicted, but good just the same. But how long will the Administration's credit policy let it stay good? Is the third Eisenhower recession punctually getting under way: Questions like this frighten investors. One result – an estimated $25 billion decline in paper values on the stock market since January 1, or about 8 percent. Even so, stocks are still inflated judging by their low yields compared to bonds. A good inflation scare would be a wonderful help to Wall Street right now.

Gallup's Crystal Ball

★ The polls showed Dewey victorious at the GOP 1940 convention; Willkie won. Polls showed Dewey a sure victor in 1948; Truman won. Polls the other day indicated a toss-up in the British election; but Conservatives got a landslide. How reliable are polls?

We have long considered the matter. Gallup recently has pitted Nixon against a suppositions Democrat – six months before the conventions – and found the Vice President leading. It's all due to the women, says Dr. Gallup. The women, it seems, like Nixon; there must be something cuddly and boyish about him in a way we hadn't observed. A standard poll covers 1,500 adults. This is 13 ten-thousandths of 1 percent of the population, equal to about one person in every third county. Is that accurate, even before the Democrats have a candidate?

A Los Angeles columnist recently called 150 names taken at random from the telephone book, asking if they thought "the Mann Act deters or helps the cause of organized labor" and whether it should be repealed? Only 12 percent identified the Mann Act as the federal, white slave traffic law. Thirty-eight percent of the housewives favored repeal of the Mann Act; 10 percent opposed. "We're strictly against that Act in our family," one woman said. "It certainly shouldn't be repealed," said another. "Hoffa gets away with too much as it is!"

In a similar deadpan spirit Senator Gore (D, Tenn.) recently took random samplings of pedestrians in Washington areas using such Presidential "candidates" as the defunct Allen Dulles, John D. Eisenhower, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., along with the actual Senatorial contestants. The big bulk of those who replied chose the familiar names – it didn't matter that "Eisenhower" and "Roosevelt" were sons, not originals: they were chosen just the same. We wonder if that isn't the situation pretty generally at this stage of the game, and if the current polls aren't a bit silly?

What's in a Manual?

★ We haven't heard whether Homer H. Hyde has been fired yet from his job in the Air Force. He's the man who wrote the manual about Communists in the churches. We feel a little sorry for him. The poor fellow just lifted some "information" from some old files of the House Un-American Activities Committee and mixed it with some "information" from a fundamentalist group that's been feuding with the Federal Council of Churches for years. Hyde didn't know any better, and his immediate superiors didn't either.

However, Congress is pretty mad about it and now the Air Force is going to review its publication procedures. Well, we can't get worked up about manuals that tell a GI how to set a table or mix a drink or wash a dog. A man has to use up his time in service some way, and he might as well learn something. It's when the armed forces try to teach him something serious that it gets into trouble. There's no more reason to expect the Air Force to know who's who in the churches or how Communists work or what America is than the police force – or Congressman Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania.

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Surprise Attack

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Cartoon:
7. The Washington Post

A "new effort" for arms control will be made when the 10-nation disarmament commission meets next month, according to Secretary Herter; and for this "new effort," our government is "making intensive preparations." Indeed it is; the US disarmament package is being prepared by five different offices: by the State Department, by a committee under the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by a committee under Charles Coolidge (which recently produced its report), by a panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee, and by a Presidential coordinating committee under Frederick Eaton. Mr. Herter's announcement on February 18th produced an Alsopian prophecy the following morning: "There is one chance in three, or four, or five, of really accomplishing something. But the chance will surely pass if the American Government merely continues to flounder in its self-made bog of inter-departmental committees."

Mr. Alsop's gloomy assessment is not entirely fair. There is one idea Mr. Herter put forward which will remain an important part of any plan that is unveiled in Geneva: an East-West agreement on surprise attack. To meet the danger of war by miscalculation, the Secretary says, there should be "zones for aerial and mobile ground inspection. . . in Europe, the Arctic area, and equivalent areas of North America and the USSR, and perhaps the stationing of ground observers outside as well as inside these inspected zones." Similar schemes, Mr. Herter acknowledges, "were proposed to the USSR in August, 1957, at London. . . . The Soviets showed little interest and the talks collapsed." That is also what happened in 1955 when Mr. Eisenhower suggested "open skies" inspection and an exchange of military blueprints between the US and the Soviet Union.

Because an idea has been rejected in the past, it does not follow that it should never be put forward again. Yet, the Administration's revival of the surprise attack gambit itself contains an element of surprise, for it seems calculated to do much more than decrease the danger of war by miscalculation – it undermines the very foundation of the Eisenhower defense strategy. That may be all to the good, so long as it is realized that this is the significance of the proposal, and so long as an alternative strategy is being developed that would place our security on firmer underpinnings.

Until now, our strategy has been to prevent Communist aggression by threatening to retaliate with nuclear airpower. Though we said we would never start a war, a war affecting our interests, once started, would be fought *our* way – our first move being retaliation "at places

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and with means of our choosing," in the late Mr. Dulles' classic phrasing. This strategy was avowedly aimed at preventing "the massive manpower of the Communist world" from attacking us or our allies; its main object was to prevent conventional, non-nuclear aggression; it was said to offer security with a lower price – security without the supposedly inordinate costs of beefing up local defenses to match Communist military manpower.

But this "security" depended upon our intentions being understood by any potential enemy, on his believing that he could not risk local or limited war, because the US would not let him get away with it. If an enemy was convinced, so we reasoned, that our response to aggression would be an instant, long-range nuclear strike, the only aggressive move the enemy could sensibly make would also be a long-range, nuclear strike. He could *strike* first, or not *attack* at all, because if he attacked locally, say in Western Europe, without striking at the US, *we* would strike first, leaving him little if any capacity to hit back. In essence, this was the doctrine of "massive retaliation."

As recently as last spring, when the President warned that we would not bow to a Soviet ultimatum on Berlin, this strategy seemed still to be sovereign. For in saying, as he did then, that there was no point in reinforcing local NATO forces in Western Europe, Mr. Eisenhower implied that if the Berlin "ultimatum" led to blows, *our* blow would be a nuclear strike – at least at Soviet forces, perhaps at Moscow itself.

The Threat to Strike First

Where has that doctrine brought us? We can see now that if a long-range, nuclear strike is to have a real chance not only of "destroying" the enemy but also of eliminating the weapons with which he might almost simultaneously "destroy" us, the strike must be a genuine "first" strike – made with our full force, not with what is left after an enemy has had a chance to blunt our attack forces with a first strike of his own. And this would appear to dictate that our only *convincing* threat is the threat that *we might launch a surprise attack.*

This strategy, it should be noted in passing, has meaning only at present, when the strategic forces of this country and of the Soviet Union still consist predominantly of manned aircraft or vulnerable missiles – weapons that can be got at, whose location can be identified. That situation is rapidly changing. The USSR is well on its way to having a comparable if not superior ability to threaten *and carry out* massive retaliation. Whatever practicality that doctrine had in a day of an American nuclear monopoly disappears as the Soviet Union adds to its stock of ICBM's and constructs more hardened and hidden missile bases.

But let us for the moment only consider what *now* exists, for that is what Mr. Eisenhower is largely talking about. Let us ask ourselves what becomes of the credibility of this nuclear deterrent of ours once we agree to "safeguards" against surprise attack? In safeguarding ourselves from a Soviet strike, are we not depriving our allies of the "safeguard" that lies in our threat to launch a surprise attack on their behalf? And if we set out to deprive them of this perhaps questionable guarantee, is it because we have some other kind of security to offer them? Is it because we have decided to rely more heavily upon local defense rather than upon nuclear retaliation? Or are there other reasons?

Last Sunday, the President again assured the nation that all is well. He spoke of our "great deterrent strength" and said that because of the variety and multiplicity of weapons our retaliatory forces are "not subject to elimination by sudden attack." That may be so today. But the critics of the President's defense program have been speaking about tomorrow. The President's confidence stems perhaps from his belief that the Russians do not *now* have a sufficient number of ICBM's to destroy all of our means for delivering H-bombs simultaneously. White House intelligence is certainly superior to the layman's. And yet, the vulnerability *now* of our major strategic force, namely SAC, *has* been admitted by the Secretary of Defense. In his testimony on the hill, the Secretary has not denied SAC's growing vulnerability; he has simply argued that the well-advertised missile gap will eventually be closed by Atlas, Minutemen, Titan and Polaris missiles, all of which are less vulnerable to attack than SAC bases.

What neither the Secretary of Defense nor the President mentions is that if we can build such a force – one that is reliable because it cannot be destroyed by a sudden, surprise attack – presumably the Russians can, too. And as the Russians are conceded a three-to-one or more advantage in ICBM production, it is reasonable to assume that they will have such a relatively invulnerable force first. And when that happens, where are we? General Thomas S. Power, who directs the Strategic Air Command, has no doubt in his mind about the prospect: when both sides have mobile and undetectable missile forces that cannot be erased in a surprise attack, we are at a strategic stand-off. Our threat to retaliate with nuclear weapons in the event of a non-nuclear, conventional attack against our allies loses its punch. At that moment – and the moment may not be far off – we do not need safeguards against surprise attack as an act of deliberate policy, but only to prevent "such miscalculation" as might "cause an international crisis to develop into general war without either side intending that this should happen," as Mr. Herter told the National Press in Washington on February 18.

This prospect of a new stalemate of "minimum deterrence" on both sides has radical implications. US defense strategy rapidly loses its persuasiveness, and a build-up of the local defense forces of NATO and of our other

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allies (primarily those forces *which are not dependent upon nuclear weapons for their basic firepower*) becomes indispensable. This build-up has long been advocated in these columns, both because it could be seen that our strategic advantage was a wasting asset, and because the nuclear retaliation was never a firm basis for diplomacy.

Deterring Limited Aggression

What kind of defense build-up is called for? *The New Republic* last week proposed that France be given a more direct share in the control of nuclear weapons. The justification for such a step is that it may make further French tests unnecessary and avert a proliferation of national nuclear capabilities. The Administration, however, may be thinking of nuclear sharing among NATO allies primarily as a way to bolster local defense forces in Europe. And perhaps it would serve that purpose. But the Russians also have nuclear weapons for battlefields, and so the question becomes: are they likely to find the threat of *local* nuclear sanctions any more frightening as a deterrent to the use of their still massive conventional strength, than the threat of nuclear sanctions administered intercontinentally? It has never been claimed that NATO's local defenses alone were sufficient, either to deter attack or to defend Europe if deterrence failed. It has been their maximum purpose to force the aggressor to declare himself, to compel him to launch an attack of such dimensions that there could be no doubt of his intent, and thereafter to delay his advance until the US – and British – strategic forces could knock-out his war-making capacity. In order to accomplish this, a ready force of 30 divisions, plus a capacity for quick mobilization to nearly a hundred, was originally considered necessary on the German front.

When so-called tactical nuclear weapons were introduced from 1954 onwards, they were used to rationalize a scaling down of this figure. There was no change, however, in the mission assigned the local forces in Western Europe. Conceivably, the wider dissemination of tactical nuclear weapons and the decentralization of their control might offset the tactical nuclear armament of the Russian ground forces which has occurred since about 1955. But no one in authority has said that this would relieve West European defenses of ultimate dependence on the massive retaliatory power of our long-range nuclear weapons. It is for this reason that the latter's nullification – because both sides are achieving a minimum deterrent, or because safeguards are agreed to against surprise attack – calls in question the very basis of the Administration's and NATO's strategy.

What is NATO's future function supposed to be? The Administration believes that NATO has enough conventional defensive strength to handle any military incident on its borders short of a major attack. Presumably, it also believes that a major attack would be interpreted by us, and responded to, precisely as though it were a direct attack upon the United States. And if the Russians are convinced that we would react to any aggression against Western Europe that could not be stopped by our local conventional forces, as though it were an attack upon New York, they *will* be deterred. But again, there is a flaw: What we expect to deter by our strategic forces is determined, not by what the Russians might *intend* to do, but by what NATO's local forces *can* do. Logically, the less they can do, the more effective our long-range nuclear deterrent is, because of the larger burden it must carry. But this is a manifest absurdity. And so we are led to the view that *any* ultimate reliance upon strategic retaliation exposes us to disaster if a local incident gets out of hand, whether the Russians intend it or not.

Mr. Herter and the President cannot be unmindful of this risk that "miscalculation" might be of local as well as intercontinental origin. The pressure on Berlin is rarely far from their thoughts. Why then is the Administration so reluctant to admit the necessity of bolstering local defense forces – this being the only alternative to reliance on the threat of thermonuclear terror? One must conclude that the President is persuaded that there is no immediate danger of limited aggression. No doubt he recognizes that the surprise attack negotiations will take time, and that unless and until they succeed, the danger of Mr. Herter's "general war" by miscalculation will become graver. But during this transitional period, while negotiations are underway, the US has some security against a deliberate surprise attack by virtue of the minimum deterrent the President assures us we have – or will have. And meanwhile, if Russian missile capabilities are progressively diminishing the effectiveness of our deterrence against conventional aggression, our allies will suffer no further loss of security if safeguards against surprise attack are worked out.

The President's Assumptions

As for the heavier task these developments impose on local defense, and about which so little is being done, one must also conclude that the Administration is banking on Mr. Khrushchev's peaceful intentions and assuming on there being little chance the Communists will resort to force or intimidation to gain their ends. If the various arms control negotiations progress – and not just those on surprise attack – it is possible that peaceful coexistence will prevail, and the Administration's defense gamble will pay off. But it is important to understand that it *is* a gamble and the critics of the President are everlastingly right in saying so. Our only real security lies in facing the need for a thorough overhauling of our strategy in the missile age and the immediate strengthening of the defenses of our allies, particularly in Western Europe.

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Protecting Voting Rights

Rarely have so many in the Congress been so earnest in their allegiance to the proposition that every citizen should be able freely to exercise his right to vote. And rarely have there been so many ideas on how that right should be protected, or who is entitled to the credit. But at least leaders of both parties have concluded that the issue of civil rights is crucial in this election year.

On February 5, the Senate Rules Committee ended its hearings on various "voting" proposals with the testimony of Attorney General Rogers who explained the first of three versions of an Administration plan to ensure Negro voting in state as well as federal elections by the use of court injunctions and court-appointed voting referees. Since then, hearings on similar bills have been held in the House Judiciary Committee.

In the new civil rights proposal which he advanced on February 17, Chairman Hennings of the Senate Rules Committee has combined the best features of the Administration's Referee Plan and the Civil Rights Commission's Registrar plan. Senator Hennings, like the Attorney General, would protect the right to vote in state as well as federal elections. But he accepts the principle – which the Administration had not – that enforcement initiative should rest in Washington. The Senator wants enrollment officers to be appointed by the President rather than by a Southern federal judge. And he insists that no state should be permitted to deprive a voter registered by a federal official of his right to cast a ballot merely by challenging that right. He would provide for federal injunctions against either local officials – or local vigilantes – to assure that the ballots of federally-enrolled voters are counted (subject to impounding for later determination of their validity by a federal court). Both the Hennings plan and the Administration plan include the requirement that action to protect voting rights must originate with a federal judicial finding of, and an injunction against, a "practice or pattern" of racial disfranchisement by state or local officials.

Senator Hennings hopes that the Rules Committee will report out his proposal as a committee bill. Meanwhile, the House Rules Committee has responded to heavy pressure – a discharge petition was within 10 signatures of the 219 needed to force the measure out of the Committee – and voted 7 to 4 to begin debate March 10 in the House on a mild four-point bill approved last year by the House Judiciary Committee. One of the registration-voting proposals will almost certainly be added to the four-point bill by amendment – most likely the Administration plan which at present has Democratic Chairman Celler's backing as well as House Republican support.

Two choices are open to Senate Leader Johnson. He can let the present debate continue in the Senate until the Senate Rules Committee has reported the Hennings bill or one of the other bills before the Committee, or some combination of them, and then substitute the Committee bill for the Stella Missouri school aid bill – and let the Senate further amend the substituted bill as much as a majority of Senators want. But if Johnson chooses this tactic, the Senate-passed bill will have to go to a Senate-House conference, and thereafter run the hazard of again being blocked by the House Rules Committee. On the other hand, Johnson can let the present Senate debate continue inconclusively until the House passes – sometime in early April – its four-point measure with amendments. If Johnson chooses this course he can then substitute the House-passed bill for the one pending in the upper chamber and thereby avoid a conference. The Senate would have to accept the House version without amendment, however.

In comparing the Civil Rights Commission's plan, the Administration plan and the new Hennings proposal, it is helpful to measure each of them against essentials of any effective legislation. These essentials are: (1) the initiation of action at the federal level – by a federal judicial finding of a "practice or pattern" of racial disfranchisement; (2) the inclusion of state elections as well as federal; (3) provision for federally-appointed officials authorized to register qualified Negro voters in great numbers under procedures as simple as those used by state-appointed officials in registering whites; (4) the availability of injunctive machinery to assure that federally-registered Negroes will be permitted to vote and have their votes counted; and (5) certainty that any state challenge in federal court of federally-registered Negro voters will be delayed until after an election.

Measured against these essentials the Hennings bill has the advantage of providing a Presidentially-appointed administrative official who should be able to register applicants more easily than the judicially-appointed court referee; it also assures that the prestige of the President would be brought into play. In any case the distance between Senator Hennings and the Administration has considerably narrowed and the latest version of the Rogers bill meets many earlier objections.

How Big a Boom?

Though national income and employment are now high, the storm warnings of impending contraction are up. Signs that the boom has moderated before it has properly begun are all around us. On February 16, the stock market dropped to its lowest point in over a year, and it has been falling ever since January 1. Worse still, steels, autos, and electronics have led the downward march. While economists disagree about the exact reliability of stock averages in forecasting changes in the

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economic weather, market fluctuations are one index of the hopes and fears of the investing community. The fears now predominate.

Steel consumption is only 80 percent of steel capacity. As a consequence, when the inventory rebuilding splurge ends, as it already has for some users, the industry will operate far below its capacity. It is estimated that in 1960 steel mills can produce 148.6 million tons. The highest post-strike estimate of likely output in 1960 was 135 million tons. Now, it is reported, steel men look for nothing better than a total of 120 million tons. In short, not even a four month strike is enough to keep the industry working full blast the rest of the year. And if the major producers increase steel prices, even 120 million tons may prove optimistic.

Auto manufacturers originally hoped for sales of seven million cars, including 500,000 imported from other countries. This estimate has revised downward by half a million cars and further revisions are probable.

The outlook is for the construction this year of 1.2 million living units compared to 1.3 million in 1959. Adverse effects on the industries which produce building materials and home furnishings are inevitable.

Farm equipment sellers anticipate a sales drop. Their expectation is a symptom of the continuing malaise in agriculture, which the President's farm message has done nothing to alleviate.

Selective Foreign Aid

The Soviet Union's number-one travelling salesman has been telling the Indians, the Indonesians and the Burmese how little he thinks of the American aid program, and that its purpose is to rob them of their freedom. While Mr. Khrushchev was expressing his opinion on the subject of US aid to Asia, Congress was doing likewise. There are Congressmen who object just as violently as does Mr. Khrushchev about giving away or lending American taxpayers' money to other nations, but fortunately theirs are not the only voices. The more constructive Congressional critics of the President's predominantly military foreign aid request, such as Senators Fulbright and Mansfield, are not objecting to the amount requested but to its character. They point out that only $700 million of the $4.1 billion will go to the Development Loan Fund ($1.1 billion was authorized for this year's DLF appropriation by House-Senate conferees at the end of the last session), and that once again economic aid will be made to limp along on a year-to-year financing, which is what Mr. Eisenhower wants.

Their criticism is sound. Nevertheless, in one respect the Administration has taken a large step forward. It has clarified the conditions under which US help can be most useful. Henceforth, said the President in his message to Congress, the DLF in its lending policy will

"In times of crisis, the newspapers are first with the cry: 'Let the people know the facts!' But perhaps Fact is a deity invoked by the people only in the last emergency when the easy gods of peace have failed them."

- Dorothy L. Sayers, 1941

"The Door Is Always Open"

The Tariff Commission has asked Congress to approve a record high budget in order to meet the work load engendered by a "protectionist spirit running up and down the Eastern seaboard and into the Deep South."

– *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 20, 1960

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Textile imports, which threaten to shrink domestic markets for US-made cloth "grew at spectacular rates" last year, according to the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute. And "all indications are," it adds "that these import trends are continuing in 1960." – *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 16, 1960

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Cloth orders on the books of cotton mills equalled 21.5 weeks of production on January 2, the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute reports. That's the largest unfilled order total since the end of World War II. . . . In January, moreover, the cotton mills chalked up further gains in selling prices . . . the highest level since February, 1953.

– *Wall Street Journal*, same day

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emphasize "those areas where the determination and the will to progress are the greatest and the capacity to use such resources effectively is the greatest." India and Pakistan at present have top priority, but more generous consideration will be given also to sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, instead of allocating 25 percent of DLF loans to India, as in the past, it is planned to increase this to 40 percent, which corresponds to India's population relative to other non-Communist underdeveloped countries. India may receive at least $75 million more in the fiscal year beginning July 1 than the $175 million in DLF loans scheduled for this fiscal year.

Apart from their size or strategic location why are India and certain of the African states a best bet now? One reason is that political leadership is still in the hands of veterans of the struggle for national independence – fathers of their country whose peoples are united in their "determination . . . to progress." Planted in such soil, massive outside investment may yield harvests – if the planting is not too long delayed. There are powerful, though latent, internal rivalries in India, for example, which make it questionable whether in another five years US assistance could be as decisive as it can be today. But there would then be other promising opportunities elsewhere. At this moment, in India and West Africa it is possible that we have that rare opportunity, to which Louis Halle refers in this issue, "where we can make our influence determinative in a constructive sense by some thumping act of dynamism."

The Bolt That's Shot

At the Southern Governors' Conference last fall, reporters diligently searched for a hint of the direction Southern politics would take in 1960. Would there be a third party? From Orval Faubus of Arkansas they gleaned a vague statement that one shouldn't discount the chances of Southern unity. Only South Carolina's Ernest F. Hollings offered a possible headline comment when he suggested that Southerners, if faced with antagonistic candidates, may bolt. Even this mild warning was received with coolness by the other Governors.

The mood of the Governors' Conference, reflecting the sentiment of most Southerners, has carried over into the early months of this year. Third-party talk has been ignored or discouraged by the same elements which acclaimed the Dixiecrats in 1948 and subsequent States Rights advocates. The only voice of independence is that of the Citizens' Councils, but even here Roy Harris, right-wing publisher of Augusta, Georgia, and chairman of the Citizens' Councils of America, wishes it understood that, "It is not our intention to bolt or to create a third party. We just want to unify the South so that we can be in a trading position."

As state conventions and primaries draw near, the dikes of restraint may burst and oratory about "standing firm for states' rights" may pour across the Deep South; there will be repetitions of the tirades against Paul Butler. But barring an unusually radical shift in sentiment after the National Democratic Convention this summer, any call for Southern rebellion will come to nothing.

Space-Age English

Ever since Adlai Stevenson described John Foster Dulles as an "unguided missile," lesser pundits have considered it obligatory to aim high-arching space-age metaphors at politicians. Some recent probes:

Nixon's biographer, William Costello: "The launching pad of his [Nixon's] rise to power was the issue of Communist subversion."

Alexander Wiley on Stuart Symington: "Stu's posture of a master critic of the US defense space program has not demonstrated the rocket thrust necessary to catapult him into the White House."

Time *magazine (never to be outdone when it comes to stretching a metaphor to the snapping point):* "Nelson Rockefeller quivered on his launching pad, preparing to take off this week [Nov. 16, 1959] on a breathtaking 'non-political' swoosh through California and three other Western states. . . . In Albany, meanwhile, Rocky was assembling a high-octane Presidential-type staff of experts."

It would be instructive systematically to compare how British and American English are assimilating the accents of space technology. We would probably have to conclude, as H. L. Mencken did in 1919, that "American," with its "extraordinary capacity for metaphor," though careless of precedent and often crude in experimentation, "shows a greater fecundity and originality of fancy." Had he lived longer, Mencken might have added that the peculiar linguistic genius of Americans in ruthlessly sacrificing beauty and careful distinction to force was bound to flower in the space-age.

Take, for example, the forced attempt of Mr. Anthony Nutting (a most Americanized Englishman, at that) to describe a switch in Soviet diplomatic tactics. The Russians decided, he recounts, "to break and make a change in the artillery of intercontinental argument from the short-range fusillades across the conference tables of Lancaster House, to long-range bombardment by correspondence from the Kremlin to the White House and Downing Street." (Disarmament: *An Outline of the Negotiations*, 1959). If this is representative of advanced British usage, Mencken's prediction that "the future of what was once the Anglo-Saxon tongue lies on this side of the water" appears to be borne out. With diplomatic missiles as with weaponry, the effective counters to Khrushchevian exuberance have inexorably moved to the New World.

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ELECTION PROSPECTS IN 1960 – V

The Farmer in the Voting Booth

by Louis H. Bean

Farmers as much as any other group went overboard for the New Deal. And in 1948, when threatened with a drastic cut in price supports, they helped more than any other group in bringing about Truman's unexpected victory. In the last two elections, 1956 and 1958, they again contributed to the upsurge in the Democratic tide. Since the Eisenhower Administration has not been able to prevent their pocketbooks from getting thinner, they are quite likely to help sustain the Democratic tide in the coming election.

The farm vote we are dealing with in this article is in the heart of the Farm Belt – North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Kansas. There are farmers in every other state, but in these four states the voting record in Presidential elections, in contrast with the national vote, is most revealing.

You can almost reconstruct the major features of the political-economic history of the United States with the few figures that follow the rise and fall of Democratic strength in these four states alone.

If you look at the Democratic vote for President from 1920 to date you will see that with the one exception of 1932 the states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Kansas were less Democratic than the country as a whole, which is what you should expect in traditionally Republican territory.

Democratic Percent of Two-Party Votes Cast for President, 1920-1956

	US	Four Agricultural States	Difference
1920	36	26	-10
1924	34	21	-13
1928	41	37	-4
1932	59	62	+3
1936	62	59	-3
1940	55	44	-11
1944	54	44	-10
1948	52	47	-5
1952	45	31	-14
1956	42	39	-3

The more typical relation between this Farm Belt vote and the national vote is indicated by what happened in 1920, 1924, 1940, 1944 and 1952 when on the average the Democratic four-state vote was about 10 percentage points below the national Democratic vote. In only one year did this section, the Farm Belt, top the national Democratic strength. This was in 1932. It marks the magnitude of the political swing caused initially by discontent with the Coolidge vetoes of measures for farm price support, and then by the depth of the agricultural depression of 1932. In 1936, as the country as a whole gave Roosevelt a still greater vote, farmers had already started back toward their traditional Republican allegiance.

The role farmers played in the 1948 election I have elsewhere defined as the "green uprising." It can be shown statistically that Truman lost 185 of the electoral votes that elected Roosevelt in 1944, chiefly in metropolitan areas, and that loss would have cost the Democrats the election were it not for the nationwide rural shift to Truman. Truman hammered the point that it was the Republican Congress elected in 1946 that failed to provide the necessary storage facilities for the large crops of 1948, and that under a Republican Administration farm price supports would go down to 60 percent of parity. From the Hudson to the Rockies rural counties gave Truman more support than they had given Roosevelt in 1944 and provided him with an additional 56 electoral votes (Colorado, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin, Wyoming). Without this gain to offset the losses attributable to the Progressives and Dixiecrats, Truman's vote would have been 19 electoral votes short of the 266 minimum then required to win.

In 1956, when, because of the international trouble that erupted during the last two weeks of the campaign, the country as a whole gave Eisenhower a greater percentage vote than in 1952, the Farm Belt states showed a very substantial shift to Stevenson and to Democratic Congressional candidates. The gap between the Democratic percentage of the Farm Belt vote and the national average was only 3 points, about as close as in 1936.

In the 1958 Congressional election, Democrats made even greater gains, gains continued well into 1959 according to the polls. State-by-state Presidential voting

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behavior in the Farm Belt is even more enlightening. Take first the percentage of the vote which was received by Woodrow Wilson in 1920, when the German-American vote went against the Democratic Administration. It was only 19 percent in North Dakota, 24 percent in South Dakota, 26 percent in Iowa, and 33 percent in Kansas. This reflected the greater concentration of German-Americans in North Dakota than in Kansas. But resentments appear to have lingered on into the 1924 election as well. In 1928, however, the regional pattern is reversed. Governor Al Smith received 45 percent of the North Dakota vote and only 27 percent of the Kansas vote. As you might suspect, North Dakota and South Dakota have more Catholics than do Iowa and Kansas.

In the 1932 and 1936 elections Democrats made much greater gains in North and South Dakota than in Iowa and Kansas, indicative of the fact that farmers in the grain crop areas suffered greater reductions in income than did farmers in more diversified farming states. And something of the 1920 pattern of voting showed up in 1940 as German-Americans reacted to the prospect of our participating again in a European war against Germany.

In 1952, each of the four states shifted to Eisenhower by about the same number of percentage points, but in '56 Stevenson picked up only 4-5 points in Kansas compared with 10-11 points in North and South Dakota. It is not generally known that in practically all of the counties in these Farm Belt states as well as in all of the counties of a number of others Stevenson did better in 1956 than in 1952 in spite of the Republican emphasis on peace and prosperity.

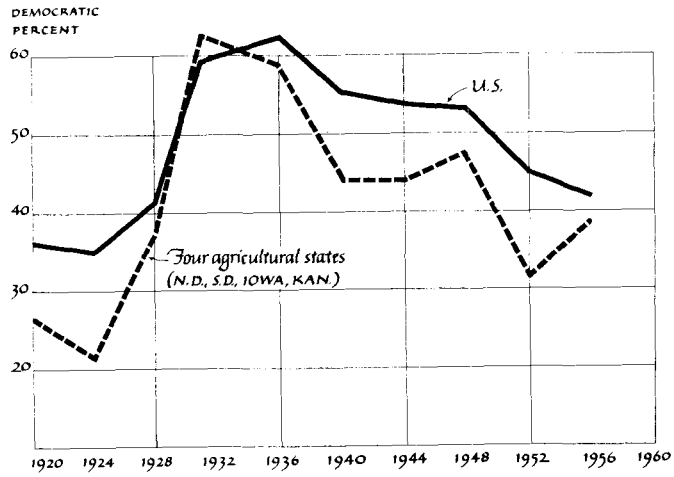
DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF TWO-PARTY VOTES CAST FOR PRESIDENT

	Four Agricultural States				*Differences Between Kansas & North Dakota*
	N.D.	*S.D.*	*Iowa*	*Kans.*	
1920	19	24	26	33	+14
1924	13	21	23	28	+15
1928	45	39	38	27	−18
1932	71	65	59	55	−16
1936	69	56	56	54	−15
1940	42	43	48	43	+1
1944	46	42	48	39	−7
1948	45	48	51	45	0
1952	29	31	36	31	+2
1956	38	42	41	34	−4

The reasons for this recent trend against the Republicans in the heart of the Farm Belt are not difficult to spot. The level of farm price supports has been gradually whittled down in the expectation that farmers would voluntarily cut down acreage, but in the eighth year of Republican effort agricultural surpluses – chiefly

FARM BELT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1920-56

Democratic Percent of Two-Party Vote, US and Four Agricultural States



in wheat and corn – are mountain-high, and farm prices and farm income are both on the decline. Net farm income dropped from 15 billion to 11 billion between 1951 and 1957, and after a pick-up in 1957-58 is headed below 11 billion in 1960. During this period the purchasing power of farm prices has declined by more than 20 percent.

Farm discontent thus has ample economic justification, and this is apparent especially in the Corn Belt. The voters of Iowa may not be familiar with Jonathan Swift's *Voyage to Brobdingnag* but a great many of them might agree with Swift "that whoever could make two ears of corn . . . to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together."

Following Secretary Benson's removal in '59 of acreage allotment on corn and the reduction in price supports both for corn and other small grains, production of corn (to the great surprise of the Secretary) was still relatively profitable enough to increase the corn crop. This miscalculation abruptly reversed the downward trend in corn acreage that had been in progress since World War II, and every Corn Belt farmer knows why the corn surplus is so much higher now than it was a year ago. Farmers who have been giving Secretary Benson a very low score whenever they have been asked their opinion of whether he was doing a good job as Secretary of Agriculture know full well that the greater feed surpluses overhanging the market means lower feed prices, lower livestock prices and lower farm income. And Republican politicians know that in an election year this downward spiral produces a greater crop of Democratic voters in the Farm Belt. How much of this potential Democratic vote will be cut down by the "peace" issue is another question.

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Those Profitable Prescriptions

by The Editors

Take a drug. Modify its chemical structure a little. Give it an unpronounceable chemical name. Apply for a patent. Locate a disease the new drug will alleviate but not cure. Have it tested by reliable doctors who can be relied upon to find that side effects are minimal. Get it past the Food and Drug Administration. Give it a catchy trade name and promote it to the doctors in a blizzard of mail, journal ads, parties, and detail men.

What have you got? That amazing new wonder drug – BONANZA!

What does it cost to make? Almost nothing. What does it sell for? Plenty. What does the company get. Profits. Aren't there any catches in all this? Yes – you have to get there first. This is the pattern that has been unfolding in Senator Estes Kefauver's inquiry into the ethical drug industry over the past two months.

Let's go over it again. This is the prescription drug industry, that makes and sells drugs that can only be had on a doctor's prescription. "Ethical" drugs are not advertised to the customers, but only to the doctors who write the prescriptions, and to the pharmacists who fill them. No medicine-show operators here – only highly respectable pharmaceutical houses: Merck, Schering, Upjohn, Smith Kline & French, Wallace Laboratories, Wyeth, and CIBA. They are high among the most profitable corporations in the country.

No snake oil cure-alls here, either: Cortisone, prednisone ("Meticorten"), prednisolone ("Hydeltra") and dexamethasone ("Decadron"), for the relief (but not cure) of rheumatoid arthritis. Chlorpromazine ("Thorazine"), perchlorperazine ("Compazine") and promazine ("Sparine"), tranquilizers for treating institutionalized mental patients, and meprobamate ("Miltown," "Equanil") and reserpine ("Serpasil," etc.) for those who take tranquilizers at home and in the office. To repeat, these are much better than cure-alls – they are cure-nothings. They are more in the class with food and drink, since if you need them today, you need them tomorrow and next year – at a dime a pill, or perhaps 30 cents.

The Subcommittee claimed that prednisone tablets could be made for 1.6 cents each, in the bottle, while the big drug houses charged the drugstore $17.90 per hundred, and the customer paid 30 cents apiece. After considerable hassle over selling costs, it developed that one small company was selling them to drugstores for $17 per *thousand*. The Subcommittee figured that "Miltown" tablets could be made and bottled for 7/10 of a cent; the president of Carter Products confirmed this exactly, and then said he sells them for 5.1 cents apiece. His net profit after taxes is 1.2 cents per tablet – not quite double the production cost. Once, in perhaps an excess of competitive zeal or patriotism, CIBA offered a thousand "Serpasil" tablets to the government at 60 cents; its regular price to the druggist was (and is) $39.50 per thousand.

Why this tremendous spread between costs and prices? Steel, automobiles and other manufactured products usually show production costs of a half, two-thirds, or three-quarters of manufacturers' selling prices.

The only really acceptable answer that has emerged is that profits are so high. "Research" sounded like a plausible part of the answer until the Subcommittee showed research accounted for only 6½ cents per dollar of sales, and that some of the major developments in recent years came from Europe; and a generous Internal Revenue Service regulation is broad enough to permit inclusion of patent attorneys' fees in the "Research" category, both for getting a patent and protecting it.

Selling and promotion expenses run high in this industry in spite of the fact that there is but a limited target – the medical profession. And it may run higher yet: RCA has just announced its plan for a new, medical radio network which will reach right into the doctors' offices. Programs will be sponsored by the pharmaceutical advertisers, selling you-know-what. To almost anyone outside the drug industry and Madison Avenue, spending more (in some cases) on huckstering than on the production of goods (with all those 300 quality control tests per bottle of pills) would seem peculiar. You might wonder how it has been done (pre-RCA):

One doctor sent to Senator Kefauver a box, about half the size of an Army footlocker, full of pharmaceutical company mail – literature and samples. This was one month's accumulation. Merck furnished copies of 60 or 70 direct mailings to physicians for a single drug, "Decadeon," in just one year.

Upjohn has over 1,000 detail men and only 160 senior researchers. A detail man, you must understand, is not a salesman. He doesn't talk prices. He "educates" the doctors he sees – five of them a day. At this rate, Dr. Upjohn's messengers can get around to every M.D. in the country half a dozen times a year, to talk about Upjohn's new products. With Merck's detail men, and Schering's, and Wyeth's, and Smith Kline & French's and the others, the average M.D. may get more free "education" than he needs, though the education is certainly not without value to the busy physician who might not, left alone, familiarize himself with the vari-

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eties of new drugs on the market. Unfortunately for the record, no doctor has yet bundled up a month's supply of detail men and shipped them to Senator Kefauver.

What about competition? The patent, the snow job, and the detail men take care of that. If there is a good patent on a good product, the patent owner may be highly selective about who gets a license to manufacture or to sell the product. Price cutters don't get many licenses. In the case of prednisone, for which a patent application has been pending for some years, a small producer testified that he will be out of the prednisone business when the patent is issued. The small pill-makers will also be out of the prednisone business because the license-holders have agreed not to make bulk sales.

First comer takes all. The first pharmaceutical house to get its new product on the market has a tremendous advantage. The product's trade name, drilled into the doctors' memory by the snowstorm of direct mail, medical journal advertisements, medical journal articles, detail men visits (radio programs?), wins out over the generic name. The doctor gives the patient a prescription for "Meticorten" ($17.90 per hundred to the druggist). By law the pharmacist is not permitted to supply that patient with prednisone (generic name for "Meticorten" and similar drugs – $1.75 per hundred). When a trade name is prescribed, he cannot substitute another brand of the identical drug, whatever the relative prices.

However, the system leaks a little. The small companies can deal with hospitals which encourage their doctors to prescribe by generic name or "Any Reliable Brand." They can sell some quantities to druggists who are willing to suggest to doctors or patients that prescriptions could be modified to reduce price without changing content. They can sell to the military services and the Veterans Administration. But the testimony indicates that these markets are pretty thin.

Do you remember the concept of "consumers' surplus" from your elementary economics course? That is the difference between what you *would* pay (if necessary) and what you *have* to pay for something. In competitive markets, competition forces prices down toward cost of production, and the consumer gets the consumers' surplus. In monopolistic situations, the discriminating monopolist prices his products right up to what the traffic will bear, and thus converts consumers' surplus into producers' surplus. It is interesting to note that the drug manufacturers preferred to point out that their drug prices should be compared to the cost of a week in a hospital, rather than to the cost of production. They denied being monopolists, of course, but their language was right out of the monopoly chapter.

Thanks to Senator Estes Kefauver's investigation, which has just resumed and may run into May, the ethical drug industry has been called upon for the first time to explain in public their costs, profits, selling methods, and research. The press has given the hearings wide and effective coverage. The doctors, perhaps on their own initiative, possibly after being nudged by their patients, may begin to take a more active interest in the prices at which prescription drugs can be had. At the moment the patients seem to be angry. A random sampling published in the *Washington Star* on January 24 quoted 65½ percent of those polled as favoring federal control of prescription drug prices. Only 21½ percent were opposed, while 13 percent stated no opinion. If two-thirds of the whole population, and three-fourths of those who were willing to be quoted, want peacetime price control after two experiences with OPA and OPS, it looks as if the drug suppliers and the press agents have managed temporarily to price themselves out of favor – if not out of an essential market.

One Drug - Two Prices

The Subcommittee found that foreigners afflicted with arthritis could buy the same [anti-arthritic] pills for less than Americans. Upjohn's price in England is $7.53 a bottle, or more than 50 percent less than its US price . . . This same pattern of excessive pricing was revealed when we questioned the major manufacturers of tranquilizers.

Here, too, a "Big Three" emerged. They are Carter Products, makers of Miltown; American Home Products, which has a license agreement from Carter to produce the same chemical mixture under its own brand name of Equanil; and Smith Kline & French, which distributes Thorazine. These three corporations are the three most profitable corporations in the United States, not only in the drug field but in all manufacturing fields including steel, oil, machines, etc. Smith Kline & French, for example, made net profits, after taxes, of more than 40 percent in 1959. Carter's profit picture is even better.

Thorazine, distributed by Smith Kline & French, was developed by a French firm under the generic term of Chlorpromazine. Smith Kline & French acquired an exclusive license to market the drug in the United States. The French firm sells the drug at about one cent a tablet in its own country. Smith Kline & French charges six cents per tablet in the United States. Carter and American Home Products sell their Miltown and Equanil at the same price of $3.25 for 50 tablets of the same strength to drugstores. These two brand name pills are exactly the same under a licensing agreement between the two companies.

In the tranquilizer field, foreigners again are favored with lower prices. Miltown, for example, is sold in Argentina for a fourth of the amount it is priced in this country.

– Sen. Estes Kefauver
February 9, 1960

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Louis J. Halle

Please Buy My Ideology!

There is an air of unreality about the prevailing idea that the new and thus far "uncommitted" nations of South Asia and Africa will choose between Communism and liberal democracy.

The prime issue of our times, we are told, is whether the newly-liberated nations of South Asia and Africa will choose Communism or liberal democracy. Some of us have had difficulty in achieving a sense of reality about this issue, defined in these terms, and it may be useful to say why this is so.

We are asked to assume three absolutes: "Communism," "liberal democracy" and something called "choice." The image that presents itself is of the Asians and Africans, like Portia's suitors in *The Merchant of Venice*, standing before caskets respectively labeled "Communism" and "liberal democracy," their brows furrowed as they prepare for the moment when they must put forth a hand and say, "I choose this one."

The reason why it is hard to achieve a sense of reality about this is that none of the three absolutes exists as such. "Communism" is a label that has been used for an ever-increasing variety of phenomena since Marx and Engels said what they meant by it in the obsolete circumstances of a century ago. "Liberal democracy" and "capitalism" are labels no less variously applied. I am not here denying them any significance, but I am denying that each has one clear meaning.

Finally, there is "choice." The lack of one clear meaning for the respective ideological labels has the consequence that, if a "choice" is to be made, it is not a simple choice between two things. This, in itself, would make it hard to pose the putative issue for purposes, say, of a plebiscite. But no one who thinks about the matter, I gather, expects that the issue, whatever it is, is going to be resolved by such a formal act of choice. What is meant by "choice," perhaps, is something like the direction of drift. The issue is whether the Asians and Africans will drift one way or the other.

To Asians and Africans, however, the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and the political philosophy of Karl Marx, between which they are to choose, must alike seem alien. They have their own traditions and circumstances, rather different from what either Jefferson or Marx had in mind.

Let us take an extreme case and imagine a fictitious new nation of New Guineans making the choice between Communism and democracy. The nation's leaders, beset by economic and political problems, have rejected Washington's offer of assistance in achieving the American way of life. Instead, they have accepted Moscow's offer to help them along the road to the Communist Utopia. Russian advisers arrive on the scene, bearing copies of *Das Kapital* and the works of Lenin for the instruction of the New Guineans. It quickly becomes evident, however, that these prophetic teachings cannot be applied too literally. For example, the factory-workers of the new nation cannot arise to establish a dictatorship of factory-workers (of the "proletariat") because there are no factory-workers. The "proletarian" revolution has to be made, perhaps, with head-hunters instead. This is typical of the problems that the Communist instructors face. If a social system is at last set up that bears the label "Communism," it is likely to be different from what the Founding Fathers of Communism had in mind. In fact, it is likely to be New Guinean – and that is not at all what they had in mind.

Alternatively, we may suppose that this young nation has rejected Moscow's offer and accepted Washington's instead. Employees of the International Cooperation Administration fly to the scene, accompanied by a US Information Agency team bringing copies of the Constitution of the United States. It quickly becomes evident, however, that the principles embodied in that document cannot be applied literally. American instructors who insisted that head-hunting be stopped, for example, might find themselves sent back home. If a social system is at last set up that bears the label "capitalism," it is likely to be rather different from what Thomas Jefferson (or was it J. P. Morgan?) had in mind. In fact, it is likely to be New Guinean. The final result may be much the same under the American advisers as it would have been under the Communist.

The Constitution of the Dominican Republic was cop-

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ied from that of the United States; but there are observable differences between the way the two countries are governed. I suspect that, if the present Dominican Constitution were replaced by a copy of the Soviet Constitution, government under the new constitution would be no different from government under the old.

I shall, perhaps, be told that I have taken too literally the statement that the issue is whether the new nations are going to choose Communism or liberal democracy. The real issue is: how are they going to industrialize (since industrialize they must)? Will the Western nations supply the capital, or will the ruthless methods of domestic capital-formation employed in Stalin's Russia and Mao's China be resorted to?

This, I grant, is putting the matter more sensibly. This is an issue. But it is an issue that belongs to the new nations rather than to us. They have been emphatic in telling us of their sovereignty and independence; they have (no doubt properly) denounced that relationship by which, in the past, the more advanced nations bore a paternalistic responsibility. Now it is up to them. If they come to us and say, "Only assistance from you can save us from the horrors of forced industrialization," and if the conditions of our requested assistance would allow it to achieve its purpose, then we should not refuse them. Then we should be willing to make great sacrifices to help them avoid the alternative. But our role can only be secondary. It is their national interest that is at stake, not ours.

I shall be told, again, that this last statement is not true, that our national interest *is* at stake. If these new nations turn to us they become our allies, adding their strength to ours; whereas, if they turn to the Communists (Russian or Chinese) they bring the contribution of their strength to the Communist camp. Again, however, I have difficulty in grasping this as a reality. I am not sure that I would not prefer to see the New Guineans independent of us than allied with us. As our allies they would be a source of weakness. They would look to us for miracles, in the solution of their problems, which we could not perform – and this would end in bitterness.

But the alternative, we are warned, is that the Communists (Russian or Chinese) will take over these underdeveloped nations, not as allies but as captives. The specter that presents itself here is the simple geographic image of the expanding Communist "empire" that Mr. Dulles used to wave before us. Again, I say this is too simple. (Is it one "empire"? Does it include Yugoslavia? Does it, as an "empire," include China? Or, alternatively, is Russia part of the Chinese "empire"?) The West has surely learned by now that commitment to imperial rule over unwilling populations may be a liability rather than an asset. The Russians have presumably learned this too. (They prefer not to make a Hungary of Finland, and they would find that they could not even make a Finland of India.) If the Chinese have not yet learned it, then perhaps they have the lesson in store.

At this point I allow myself to hazard a prediction. For the foreseeable future, Asians are going to be Asian and are going to conduct their affairs very much like Asians. Africans are going to be Africans; Russians, Russian; Chinese, Chinese. But they will all be in a state of evolution; and since a single worldwide civilization, of which we and they alike are members, has been developing in our times, we have an interest in how it continues to develop. Wherever and whenever the development is in the direction of individual freedom and dignity we shall wish to support it as occasion offers. But where, for the time being, it is not in that direction, we may well refrain from getting excited and trying desperately to force it in that direction. The development of industrial society has its own dynamics. It must pass through many more-or-less inescapable stages. And freedom as we know it will not be immediately possible over a large part of the world, whatever constitutions are adopted. Stages of development, however, are not points of final arrival. Russia has been a despotism for a thousand years now, and will probably continue to be one in our lifetime. But its evolution may be in the direction of liberty, now that certain kinds of sophistication are spreading in its population. For the present generation, China is likely to present as harsh an example of despotism as ever in its history, past or to come. But the present generation is not final.

What we in the Western democracies must seek to do is to influence the evolving situations, where we can, in a favorable sense. The rest of the world, however, has its own cultural and political autonomy. Our jurisdiction is limited, and the case will be rare where we can make our influence determinative in a constructive sense by some thumping act of dynamism. (The crisis that produced the Marshall Plan was one of those cases.) Our influence will surely be greater, however, if we conduct ourselves with dignity, and if we wait for others to come in search of our friendship and assistance rather than rushing to plead with them for the acceptance of our example and our gifts.

In the long run, what we really are will count for more than the label we wear. Likewise, whether the Russian society, or the Chinese, is stronger than our own will count for more than the label it wears. The maintenance of our position and influence in the world depends on keeping ourselves strong in every real sense of the word. It depends on not giving first claim on our resources to personal luxuries and a public entertainment that is essentially degrading. It depends on giving our children an upbringing and an education that will command respect in the world. To one who now views his country from abroad, this kind of thing has a reality which is lacking from the question whether the newly-liberated nations of South Asia and Africa will choose Communism or liberal democracy.

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The Plot to "Get Reuther"

by Richard L. Strout

Jack Kennedy's younger brother Bob has written a book. It has three main claims to interest: it reviews the horrifying story of labor corruption (particularly in the Teamsters) exposed by the McClellan Committee of which he, Robert F. Kennedy, was chief counsel; it tells also, and unexpectedly, how the four Republican Senators on the McClellan Committee vainly plotted to "get" Walter Reuther and played GOP politics with the proceedings; and it tells a lot about the Kennedy boys.

The Enemy Within
by Robert F. Kennedy
(Harper; $3.95)

Two-thirds of the book make a kind of compendium of the three-year long Senate committee hearings into trade union racketeering and wrong-doing. For the time being it is the best condensation of this villainous story available; a story which, of course, has already been spread all over the front pages. There is a certain sickening monotony in reading chapter after chapter of this *Who's Who* of the underworld, and seeing how thugs and criminals seized the vulnerable democratic processes of the trade unions and took over their management as small-scale Hitlers and Mussolinis while the respectable business elements submitted or cooperated; or, in some cases, actually invited them to achieve labor "peace" and contracts pleasing to employers. Don't forget that *The New York Times* paid blackmail for a while, and Sears, Roebuck paid the notorious middleman Nathan Shefferman $250,000 from 1953 to 1956 alone.

The really alarming thing is not to be certain, when the evidence is all in, that the situation has been remedied. It is true that Congress passed a new labor law; but can a law cure the sickness of society of which these detailed cases are a manifestation? Many of these criminal operations are "still active," says Kennedy. "With the Committee out of existence it would appear that they now have almost nothing to fear. James Squillante and the Gallo brothers are still flourishing in New York, Giancanna and his lieutenant Rocco Pranno are still doing business in Chicago."

What Kennedy urges is establishment of a new national crime commission, not to act as a second FBI with police powers, but as a central intelligence agency; a clearing house "to which each of the 70-odd federal agencies and the more than 10,000 local law enforcement agencies throughout the country would constantly feed information on the leading gangsters." Just off-hand it sounds like a good idea. England does it, says Kennedy, and we have bigger and better crime than England ever dreamed of: "If we do not on a national scale attack organized criminals with weapons and techniques as effective as their own, they will destroy us."

If the book ended there it would be a worthy, conventional resumé of a shocking situation set down by the public-spirited, rich young man who dug out the facts. The tone is restrained and detached. But suddenly in a later chapter entitled "Get Reuther" the note changes. The Republican Senators had grown restive. Mr. Kennedy doesn't put it quite this way, but Dave Beck, the first Teamster boss, was a respectable Republican who also happened to be a crook. The Committee exposed him. Stories began to be leaked by Senator Mundt and other GOP members that the Kennedy brothers (Jack, of course, was a member of the committee) were sparing left-winger Democratic Reuther and the United Auto Workers for political purposes.

[Last week, the "leak" became a torrent: Four GOP members of the Committee released a report charging that Robert Kennedy refused "to probe into areas which would have fixed the responsibility for the career pattern of crime and violence which has generally been associated with UAW strikes"; this attacked the State of Michigan as a "privileged sanctuary . . . for the protection of criminals." – *The Editors*]

The Kennedy evidence is, of course, *ex parte* but it sounds convincing. Republicans Goldwater, Curtis and Mundt, with Sen. Capehart of Indiana going along, felt that the agonizing Kohler strike was a vehicle to expose Reuther. Senator Goldwater had affirmed that Reuther and the UAW were "a more dangerous menace than the Sputniks or anything that Russia might do." The only trouble was that whereas Beck and Hoffa were crooks, Reuther was honest.

A situation of some humor developed. Republicans appointed their own agents to run the Reuther investigation. Bob Kennedy found the methods "almost unbelievable." Evidence unfavorable to the union was gathered, that unfavorable to the Kohler company ignored. The climax came when the Republicans finally found they had been betrayed into a fiasco and tried to prevent smart, fast-talking Reuther from taking the stand at all – the man whom they had announced they would pillory.

The author contrasts law officials and the Hoffa-Beck witnesses: "These men [UAW] wore simple clothes, not silk suits and hand-painted ties; sported no great globs of jewelry on their fingers or their shirts; there was no smell of perfume, frequently wafted by the men around Hoffa." Reuther's personal and union bookkeeping proved impeccable.

This brings us by natural degrees to the third aspect of this unusual book – the Kennedy brothers. Bob does not pretend to be impartial about Jack. He is "my brother," he says engagingly, "and I think he will make a great President." The reader will have to decide how far this book is designed to help the Senator's Presidential drive. He is not defensive about the controversial new labor act: "For the most part it is a good law and one that is absolutely essential." On the other hand he repeatedly states that he regards the great bulk of organized labor as honest. He does

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have some sharp things to say about the GOP members of the committee, particularly the oleagenous Mundt: "I did not respect him for the way he played up to Hoffa, Reuther and other witnesses when they were on the stand, yet attacked them viciously when they were not present to defend themselves." Not every young lawyer can speak so frankly about a former client.

The Old-School British Radicals

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

Anne Fremantle has written a most readable history of the Fabian movement. And what men and women in seven-league boots stride through these pages! We see the young group of enthusiasts, all in their early twenties, meet in gaiety and rage to storm the citadels of England, that Merrie England which Karl Marx, sitting in the British Museum from 9 o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening, had only shortly before torn apart with Teutonic efficiency. The name Fabian was finally chosen for the new society in allusion to Fabius Cunctator: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard". . . to which a later Socialist wit reported – "Comrades, we must not allow ourselves to be carried away by patience."

This Little Band of Prophets
The British Fabians
(New American Library – Mentor; $.75)
by Anne Fremantle

The nucleus of the Fabians was that incongruous pair, Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw. Both were convinced Socialists but in no other respect were they alike. Sidney Webb who came from a working class family with a trace of Jewish origins, was the prototype of the gifted bureaucrat, always reasonable, never agitated, a tireless worker who had read everything and remembered everything: "A short sturdy figure with a rounded protruding abdomen and a curious broad, flattened, clean-shaven face that seemed nearly all forehead," as H. G. Wells described him.

Shaw, who prized his friendship with Webb as the most important influence in his life, was the opposite. Of Irish gentry stock, he had a pasty white face, red nose and reddish beard that hung below slatey blue eyes. Flirtatious, contradictory, mocking, he characterized himself "as an incorrigible histrionic mountebank." But beneath the errant brilliance lay one of the most incisive and analytic minds in British history. With an energy that was terrifying, he would speak at open meetings several times a week, write Socialist essays, edit books on contemporary issues, walk many miles daily, promote fads such as vegetarianism ("I do not eat corpses"), spume literary and musical criticism . . . and write plays.

To this remarkable duet, an additional couple joined to form the Fabian *junta*. Webb's colleague in the Colonial Office was Sidney Olivier, later Governor of Jamaica and Secretary of State for India. As Shaw had become a Socialist through reading Marx (who was unknown in England at the time), and Webb by way of John Stuart Mill, Olivier's entrance was due to August Comte. Tall, handsome and strongly sexed, mixing bohemian attire with a formidable scientific mind, Olivier was one of the very few Fabians who looked beyond domestic politics to racial and colonial emancipation. The other member of the quartet was Graham Wallas, whose love and tolerance of humanity stopped at religion. Without vanity or personal ambition, Wallas lent a certain noble disinterestedness to the other more passionate members – G. B. Shaw, in fact, referred to him not as the fourth member but rather the Three Musketeers and D'Artagnan. It was Graham Wallas who ultimately left the Fabians when they supported state aid to religious schools.

It is difficult to believe the enormous influence of these four men, later joined by Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb). The Fabians were launched in early 1884, ten months and five miles from the death of Karl Marx, and within a few years they were the most powerful radical force in the country. By 1900, the policy of *permeation*, influencing the members of traditional parties, advanced with such success that the Liberal Party had adopted – though it did not put it into practice – the Fabian program. Yet, as Mrs. Fremantle points out: "the Fabian Society has never had more than 4,000 members; at the time of its greatest influence, which then extended into both the Liberal and Conservative parties, it had under 1,500." Undoubtedly, social reform was in the air and the Fabians, as expert tacticians with upper-class attitudes and connections, were in a position to profit by the new "fashionable" sympathy for the workers.

The latter part of *This Little Band of Prophets* is less compelling than the study of the period preceding World War I, which is a natural hazard of a book resting more on anecdote than analysis. The later Fabians (who grew up parallel with the Old Gang, which never seemed to die) were less colorful, excepting H. G. Wells, who left the Society after an unsuccessful attempt to take it over. Tawney, G. D. H. Cole, Laski and Prime Minister Attlee had more tepid personalities, and more diverse interests, than the early founders.

One reason for this change lies in the inevitable redirection of Fabian politics as the Labour Party developed, away from permeation and persuasion, toward direct class action. In fact, the chief weakness of Anne Fremantle's book is its overestimation of Fabian influence on the Labour Party. The natural bias of the Webbs and Shaw was against "workers' control" and for a central bureaucracy, an attitude reflecting their background as much as intellectual proclivities. They had misunderstood the election of J. Keir Hardie in 1894 as a candidate of the newly formed Independent Labour Party, predecessor to the present Labour Party, and even sneered at his working class fetishes. As Labour grew more powerful, the Fabians lost a part of their *raison d'être* and it was only as late as 1912 that the Society, in Mrs. Fremantle's words, "had completed the change-over in its functions, from the permeation and education of all persons and all parties, to the work of research and propaganda for the Labour Party." This is its function today. The reader with a liberal and socialist bias will thrill to this popular study of

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the origins and development of British economic democracy. The question continues to insinuate itself: what happened to America? One of the prime virtues of Anne Fremantle's book is that it hints at some of the differences that made British Fabianism a success and similar movements in America failures.

Obvious differences are geography and history. The enormous expanse of our country prevents a unified movement such as occurred in England. London – and Paris – are nerve centers, in both the physical and spiritual sense; and when the Fabians invaded the brain at London, they took over all the ganglia-extensions throughout England. California has its radical writers, New York its progressive trade union leadership, Washington liberal congressmen, Boston its intellectual enclaves. Each lives its own parochial pattern. The editors of *Dissent*, for example, call their magazine "A Tale of Two Cities," referring to the physical difficulty and financial expense of bringing together executive members from New York and Boston.

The historical differences are likewise apparent. Older societies tend, like human beings, to lose their amorphous shape. There is a coherent pattern in England behind the movement from a state control by landed aristocrats to state control by intellectual aristocrats – the path from Burke and Pitt to Sidney Webb and Sir William Beveridge is much clearer than the evolution of American politics through Thomas Jefferson to Franklin D. Roosevelt. And those American Fabians close to Europe become estranged from their countrymen; the lack of contact is evident in the rootlessness that one finds in so much American radicalism.

Another factor that cannot be dismissed is that radicals today are paralyzed by their own indecision. The Webbs and Shaw could look on increasing state control only as a good; it was because of their belief in collectivism that they supported a state subsidy for religious schools, reasoning that if the state would control the purse strings of High Episcopal and Catholic schools, the next step would be to force these schools to teach a technological theory of history! It is no longer so evident to us that nationalization brings a "higher freedom" and that equality implies a "truer liberty": the converse is more likely. Even the Socialist parties of England and Germany, however deeply rooted in tradition, are now going through reappraisals of theory.

Ultimately, it is the success of capitalism in the United States which has clipped the claws of Fabians, the good life as defined in terms of autos and television sets and two-week cruises to the Caribbean – and also the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO meeting in Miami or Puerto Rico during the winter! It has been proved by R. P. Blackmur in his essay *The Economy of the American Writer* that magazines dealing with progressive ideas, are losing circulation year by year in relation to the growing American population: after eliminating overlapping subscriptions, perhaps a mere 100,000 Americans are aware that we even have an intellectual elite concerned with political ideas.

In the larger sense, the problem is the American definition of success as a function of the market place. If a thing, any thing, *sells*, it is good. If it does not sell, it is no good. And what it sells for is money. The contrast with the British Fabians becomes illuminating at this point. Bernard Shaw lived for years in penury without a whistle or sly grimace toward the sirens of London; in fact he had a positive distrust of money and preferred giving away his articles to radical journals than having them printed in staid periodicals at a fancy fee. Beatrice Webb received an annual income of one thousand pounds, but did not regard it as a base for speculation. Rather, the Webbs adjusted their life to this income and labored for a better society. Mrs. Fremantle, the author of *This Little Band of Prophets*, was brought up in the world of the Fabians. When she was expecting her first child, though her family was rich enough, she insisted on going to a public hospital in order to understand how the poor felt.

This is the real reason for the failure of American Fabianism. We cannot create a progressive (or even creative) society when we *at heart* accept the market values of our society. For we are all – even the intellectuals – sold to *things*. On the lower level, we are sold to money. On the next level, we are sold to power and prestige, to being a professor rather than an instructor, a senator rather than a congressman. On

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the highest level, in despair, we are sold to pleasure. But the common ingredient – and the focal point of difference with the British Fabians – is that we have ultimately accepted the market place as the arena of judgment. And, in the most brutal sense, whores cannot be Fabians.

Never Preach, Never Cry

by Martin Tucker

Terry Southern's second novel, *The Magic Christian*, is going to cause talk, and it won't be polite. It will range from howls of laughter to howls of anger. The book concerns the pranks of a very wealthy millionaire, Guy Grand, who counts $180 million in New York banks as his cash holdings, and who spends $10 million a year to amuse himself (or "to make it hot *for them*" in Southern's words). The means of that amusement constitute the plot, theme, characterization, and setting. Among some of his eccentricities are handing a hot-dog vendor a $500 bill and not waiting for the change; putting stink-bombs into a cosmetic he heavily advertises as the newest boon to womankind; causing a riot at Madison Square Garden by bringing in a hungry panther disguised as a showdog; and smashing crackers with a sledge hammer in Times Square.

The Magic Christian
by Terry Southern
(Random House; $3.50)

Guy Grand is after *something*. His goal however is hard to define, and frankly it is even hard to have a suspicion of knowledge about it. Just what Mr. Southern is trying to say is about the most elusive question in the book world today. By comparison, Samuel Beckett is simple, clear and comprehensible. There is no doubt the book satirizes man's greed. Guy Grand is a deus-ex-machina who wants to find out at what price money can buy man. For instance, Grand offers $6,000 for eating a laundry ticket to a man he picks at random on a street. He opens a grocery store in a different neighborhood every night and sells food at about 1/100th its normal price; the trick is that he closes the store the very next morning and moves to a new, secret location.

It is possible that this is all Mr. Southern is out to do: to expose how foolishly and greedily men act. But in other incidents, the reader can only wonder at what seems a monstrous insensitivity almost amounting to a form of sado-masochism. There is drama in a man selling his soul; there is room for scathing comment about such sales; but to make fun of abasement and humiliation is hardly funny. And to base a whole novel on a series of incidents in which there is no resistance, dramatic or philosophical, to corruption, or even any dramatic conflict, is bound to bring a welter of wrath on Mr. Southern's young shoulders. That Grand is a menace goes without saying, but to write a book about such a menace without revealing some of his motivations or philosophy is a failure on the part of the writer.

Yet with all its shortcomings, *The Magic Christian* will be a *succés de scandale*. Within its limitations, it strips the phony excuses from hypocrisies; it reminds the reader once again to examine his own suspect motives. The book is also interesting because it reveals a new trend. Southern is one of a school of writers just beginning to emerge who have no name, no sense of joint membership or any large critical recognition as yet, but who fit into a group that for lack of a better term may be called the new School for Fantasy. The two other writers who come to mind immediately are James Purdy and Alfred Chester. All American-born, they lived in Paris in the fifties, saw their first publications in magazines like *New-Story*, *Paris Review*, and *Botteghe Oscure*, and received critical acclaim in England long before they were published in America. All three are stylists and careful craftsmen, though Purdy and Southern tend to use the clean, simple sentence whereas Chester (only his first novel, *Jamie Is My Heart's Desire* and a short story in *Sewanee Review* have been published here) likes the haunting, evocative long paragraph. What unites them is their attitude. They are not intellectually or socially or politically oriented, but see everything in terms devoid of any affiliation but the emotions. All three, while intensely humanistic in viewpoint, scale themselves down to situations that have been dehumanized out of context. Purdy's novel *Malcolm* concerns a handsome fifteen-year-old boy who has absolutely no problems except those he experiences vicariously through a group of eccentric people introduced to him by an odd, fairy scientist. Purdy's hero Malcolm never reacts for the reader; he only suggests his possible reactions. What Purdy is getting at is the foolishness of the people around Malcolm, and the novel is told in picaresque form just as Southern's hero becomes a rogue going from one bawdy, sensational experience to the next.

Chester, in his novel, makes his hero an undertaker's assistant and life becomes a series of death moves. His novel ends with a cry that is beautifully contoured but never embarrassingly human; it should be a wail, but Chester's hard, controlled style keeps it from being that. Southern's heroes and heroines act as if they never had any human problems to face; they are immensely rich or immensely susceptible, and their creator's goal in life is the wry joke upon them.

What then gives Chester and Purdy – and Southern too – their warmth and depth? It is that these writers are painfully aware of the wreck emotions make of people. It is not unnatural that they should write fantastic satire; the fantasies skirt the emotions while at the same time suggesting and evoking them. Like daydreamers, these gifted writers reject almost everything familiar and live in a world where handsome, elegant, powerless people fashion barbs for their less aware brethren.

"NIGERIA IS HAVING *its headaches these days, a mere eight months away from total independence and UN membership. Twenty-seven Nigerians were arrested last week and charged with cannibalism. The newspapers, of course, didn't mention the incident; it might make for embarrassment during Nigeria's entry into the family of nations. We are forwarding the information to the chef at the United Nations restaurant–mindful of his special days devoted to the distinctive foods of UN members.*"

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Pakistan to a Candid Visitor

by Charles Burton Marshall

In our own country's younger days, Alexis de Tocqueville examined American society with an unflattering eye and wrote of it as he saw it, thereby rendering us an enduring service. In the measure of his own abilities, Orville F. Linck does something analogous for one of the fledging states in *A Passage through Pakistan*. On leave from Wayne State University, Linck taught English in Pakistan on a Fulbright grant in 1956-57. He got around among Punjabis, Baluchis, and Sindis. Unfortunately he got only briefly to Dacca in East Pakistan. Accordingly, his comments on the Bengali wing – the home of a majority of Pakistanis, whose society differs sharply from the peoples of the western province – are meager. His observations on the country so far as he saw it, however, are rich in insights. Pakistanis who see the book may not like it, but it will be good for their souls.

A Passage Through Pakistan
by Orville F. Linck
(Wayne University; $5.95)

Current conventions frown on judging other societies, in particular those of the emerging and underdeveloped nations, by exterior standards and insist on paying them praise appropriate for children. Linck spurns this approach. He applies the standards he knows. He criticizes vigorously but not maliciously. His reply to the proposition that people living in glass houses should not throw stones would be: why not? He is not one to await perfection at home before urging improvement abroad.

Linck kept extensive notes, setting down whatever puzzled, amazed, or perturbed him along with what he liked. His book marshals the ideas with the informality of a travelogue. It is a good deal more than a travelogue, however. He likes Pakistanis in general as almost everybody would – likes them too well to fob them off with unmerited praise – and devoutly wishes that they would do better than they do. He is deeply concerned over the inadequacy of standards, the shallowness of public life, and the lack of a moving spirit among them.

Linck scores his friends there for the misappreciation of the dignity of labor, lack of identity between people and government, the static and self-centered habits of the civil service, the harm to personal and social values resulting from traditional Moslem attitudes toward womankind, a too narrow and sex-centered concept of ethics, the built-in uncreativeness of their education methods, the sentimentality they mistake for history, and a dozen other foibles.

Getting over into politics, he strays a little beyond his depth in respect to facts, for he knows the surfaces but not much of the concealed aspects. Yet his judgments are remarkably incisive. He grasped at the time – and fully – the destructive import of the break-up of the Suhrawardy Ministry in the fall of 1957. He correctly dismisses the cliché that democracy failed in Pakistan, pointing out rather that it was strangled in the cradle by Pakistani hands. He will

"And Now, 'Tricky' Dick Nixon Will Pull a Campaign Issue from the Hat"

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have no part of the theory which attributes its demise to the prevalence of illiteracy and poverty, for he knows the ones who brought it off were not lowly but well-read and well-fed members of society.

Linck left before the undoing of the Islamic Republic in the autumn of 1958. He respects the army, credits it with reluctance over being projected into dictatorship, and hopes it may help set Pakistan on the right track. The job will require more than plebiscitary democracy under army tutelage. It will entail a thorough self-appraisal by Pakistanis high and low. Linck's well-intended criticisms may do some good to this end.

Anyway, one can be glad that Linck dwelt in Abbotabad and had time to rove to Peshawar, Lahore, Swat, and the rest, to visit Karachi – which, incidentally, he did not see long enough to appreciate – and to spend a season in India, for the result is a book both discerning and entertaining. So much of the reportage on Pakistan has been the dry stuff of economists and political scientists or the superficialities of itinerant journalists who spend their day or two in Karachi and take the government's handouts at face value. This is a welcome change.

MOVIES

A Light Touch and Welcome

It is sometimes held that the great risk of being a critic is that it makes you jaded and unresponsive. Quite the reverse is true. After subjecting yourself to dozens of inferior works, you are so grateful for merit when it comes along that, far from being jaded about it, you must caution yourself to keep your thanks in proportion.

A Touch of Larceny
(Paramount)

Film comedy of late (excepting *Some Like It Hot*) has been in fairly low estate. Hollywood's products have been laborious, with a kind of oppressive muscularity about them: pictures which make you feel that, once having been stuck with the conviction that the scripts were mirthful, those involved are going to bluster through with teeth clinched whether you like it or not. Comedies from abroad have been slender indeed – a number of them resurrections for the US after their players achieved success in subsequent films.

Thus *A Touch of Larceny* is warmly welcome; and the introduction above is not to imply that starvation is the only reason. It is an intelligent comedy, certainly not eternally memorable but certainly funny. It is the kind of picture which, in an ideal world, one would expect as the norm in film comedy; a lower level ought to be as unusual as this level now is.

Literate comedy begins, by definition, with the writer. The author, Roger MacDougall, who was co-author of *The Man in the White Suit*, has met the prime demand for comic plots: he has devised an initial situation which is not only funny in itself but which provides logical development into further funny situations and into an unexpected but logical conclusion. (For the reverse, consider *Who Was That Lady?* A husband who is found kissing a girl explains to his wife that he's really an undercover FBI man pursuing a spy. That's where the film begins and, in effect, ends.)

MacDougall's film, set in London today, starts with a poor but roguish naval officer falling in love with a young widow who is engaged to a rich baronet. In order to put himself on an equal financial footing with the man he hopes to bilk, the officer concocts a scheme by which to have himself libeled in the press and then to sue for thousands. After this start, one thing – as is by no means generally true in films – really does lead to another, with sustained invention and adroitly honed language.

We are reminded steadily by one critical school that it is difficult to create literary and dramatic art in a relatively new society without tradition and class structure. This seems to me arguable in many fields but not in that of high comedy, which depends on people who have been for generations, in another sense than Shelley intended, "beautiful and free." Naval-officer clubbiness and equivalent money prejudices would obtain in an American film on this subject, but could we produce the innate quiet elegance and droll mutual respect in this picture? When James Mason and his fellow-officer Robert Flemyng chaff each other, the service, devotion to duty, and marriage, they are affecting to despise a history and a code, intermixedly cruel and noble, which lie at their backs like lions. They can be relaxed because they are confident of their cosmos. The film can spoof the British navy, the British aristocracy, the British press and libel laws because *au fond* everyone concerned is clamly confident that those institutions, though spoofable, are the best in the world. When we Americans satirize ourselves, as we frequently do, we do it with the aim of improving ourselves; there is not much self-confidence in it. . . . Ah, well, give us a thousand years or so.

This film makes a good contrast with *Our Man in Havana* (*NR*, February 15) which also caricatures official British bumbling. The Greene film falters because it mixes the "real" with the farcical. *A Touch of Larceny* succeeds because it is wholly possible and just teases the edge of the probable.

In the leading role Mason gives a saturnine, sulky-humorous, fetching performance. He has had a patchy film career, neither a decline nor a rise; he seems almost to alternate between impossible trash and respectable pictures. This is one of his best. Flemyng, admired by theatergoers here for his serious performance in *The Cocktail Party* and *The Potting Shed*, is an excellent light comedian. He knows how to "throw away" lines: he can give you, out of any sentence of ten words, the two important ones and can make you feel that by mumbling the other eight

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Richard L. Strout *is a veteran Washington newsman.* Daniel M. Friedenberg *is a man of letters and, on the side, a New York businessman.* Martin Tucker *is on the English faculty of New York University.* Charles Burton Marshall *was Adviser to Prime Ministers of Pakistan* (1955-57).

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he has somehow taken you into his confidence. George Sanders, as Mason's rival, gives a more disciplined performance than usual in his recent work. Vera Miles, as the prize, is so pretty that my heart sank when I saw her. I expected her to be merely pretty, but she is quite adequate to the part. Guy Hamilton, the director, came a cropper recently with *The Devil's Disciple*, but he redeems himself handily with his light yet firm styling of this picture.

Much analysis, perhaps, for a film that is no more than consistently pleasing and amusing. But they are not common.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

THEATER

Nihilism on Broadway

Caligula
by Albert Camus
(54th Street Theater)

In a world of surprises, Broadway still remains predictable. Once you are able to swallow the jawbreaking news that Albert Camus' *Caligula* will be performed on the main street, everything that follows – from the half-respectful, half-hostile bafflement of the daily press to the stupefying opulence of the production – becomes as inevitable as the digestive process. Unable to soften down this dangerous play of ideas, Sidney Lumet, the director, has chosen to drown it out, imposing over the pop-pop of explosive thought a recurrent din of more familiar Broadway sounds: resounding gongs, breaking mirrors, mournful string arpeggios, clashing cymbals, stamping feet, and vibrating drums. And just in case some meaning should still find its way through the thunder, he has introduced visual distractions as well: langorous, mute courtesans lolling diaphanously on the floor; armies of half-clad, powdered male torsos marching militarily through the action; running Olympic leaps performed up, down, and over a precarious group of stairs; and murky battles fought in the gloom with sword and fire. As for the acting, while it is mixed (patricians from the classical theater, plebeians from the Studio), it is rarely blessed. Colleen Dewhurst contributes some sturdy, matronly moments as Caligula's mistress and Sorrell Booke is amusing and loathsome as the emperor's comic foil; but, as Caligula, Kenneth Haigh alternates too abruptly between grim irony, which he controls, and temper tantrums, which he doesn't, while stumbling floppily around the stage like an Eton schoolboy dizzy on his first cigarette. Meanwhile, the entire spectacle – periodically bathed in a frenzy of colored lights exceeding even Stanley Kowalski's orgiastic imagination – is spread over a grey raked apron which is thrust into the orchestra like the launching platform of an aircraft carrier. Designed to be performed in cool, classical quiet, the current *Caligula* production is a credit to the memory of Cecil B. DeMille, and might even bring a gleam of envy to the imperturbable features of Tyrone Guthrie.

But let us (reversing the usual Broadway procedure) dispense with the production and examine the play. For, while, hardly a model of dramatic art, it contains, in Justin O'Brien's lucid translation, some of Camus' most provocative ideas. Written when the author was only twenty-five, *Caligula* is a study in total refusal. Camus characterizes the Roman emperor as an early nihilist with an artist's craving for form, clarity, and order in a world without meaning. Brought, through the death of his sister, to the realization that life is absurd and imperfect ("Men die, and they are not happy"), Caligula determines to work out the inexorable consequences of this conclusion. Rebelling against the very conditions of life, he exercises complete freedom without obedience to moral, spiritual, or canon law. "If God is dead," observed Dostoevsky, "then everything is permitted." Caligula's absolutism is an attempt to achieve the impossible (symbolized by

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the "gentle, weightless, and naked" moon), to impose on life a form and purity which it does not possess.

Elsewhere, Camus once predicted that "the rebel, who at first denies God, finally aspires to replace him," and Caligula's crimes soon become his aspiration towards divinity. Observing that "there is only one way of equalling the gods – all that's needed is to become as cruel as they," Caligula conducts his reign according to the same heartless justice he sees operative in the universe. What results is a reign of dispassionate terror. Patricians are ordered to disinherit their sons and leave all to the state ("Governing amounts to robbery.... As for me, I shall rob openly"); wives are ravished, sons tortured, and fathers murdered out of sheer whim. Everyone is guilty – not of any particular crime, but because they are subjects of Caligula, because they are alive under a merciless god. After making his divinity physically manifest as Caligula-Venus rising from a seashell (homosexuality is merely another expression of his license and revolt), his personal suffering begins to overwhelm him. He has achieved that solitariness necessary to the Promethean rebel, his contempt for mankind has reached its zenith, and he is ready to die. But he soon realizes, just before he is assassinated, that he too is guilty. Though liberated from memory, illusion, happiness, and the desire for security, he has recognized no limits, and his own fear of death signifies that his freedom has not been pure. Camus' final position goes beyond nihilism: man must refuse the divinity he has inherited from a dead God in order to share in the "struggles and destiny" of suffering humanity.

Caligula, obviously, is not a work which Americans will understand readily or accept with any enthusiasm when they have understood it. Camus eventually works his way through to a liberal-humanist platform, but he arrives there the hard way, without sentiment, moralizing, or didacticism, having come through the tenebrous forest of nihilism. While we in America have left unexplored even the borders of this forest, Camus recognized that nihilism was the central position against which he had to define his own, since it was the inevitable culminating point of 19th Century thought. It is still a powerful force in Europe, partly accounting for the excesses of Hitler and Stalin (in its most monstrous shape), and (in more harmless form) for the vacillating anarchy and authoritarianism of French government.

But the impact of nihilism on France has also resulted in some of the most original drama written in the last decade, a drama which – in the direction of its thought – would be almost inconceivable in America. For while we are trying to come to terms with human conditioning, the French are trying to explore the boundaries of human limitation; while we are seeking security, ease, and happiness within the social unit, the French are seeking metaphysical freedom outside of human institutions; while our key words are *adjustment* and *affirmation*, the key words in France are *alienation* and *negation*. In consequence, our plays – with their official tone, their pious pronouncements, and their social-psychological orientation – seem to be the work of a collective, embodying the collective's distrust of freedom, heroism, and individual salvation. In this early play of Camus, on the other hand, as in so much current French drama, the individual's relationship to his universe is once again being fully explored. ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

What About Bowles?

Sirs:

Your eye-opening editorial, "What About Bowles?" (January 11), together with the comments on it which appeared in subsequent issues, lead me to endorse wholeheartedly Bowles' candidacy for the following reasons:

(1) The leading issue in the campaign undoubtedly will be peace, especially with the President visiting Russia in June following a Summit conference in May. Bowles is the only Democrat (with the possible exception of Stevenson) who can defeat Nixon in the contest for public confidence in the decisive area of foreign affairs.

(2) Bowles is superbly equipped with the administrative, executive and legislative experience required for the Presidency. He was Price Administrator of OPA, 1943-46; Governor of Connecticut, 1949-51, and was elected to Congress in 1958 from a normally heavily-Republican district (a tribute to his vote-getting ability!).

(3) Bowles is a fighting liberal with unusual breadth of understanding of domestic and international problems – together with an effective program to meet them, as indicated in the latest of his seven books, *The Coming Political Breakthrough*. His civil rights record is particularly impressive.

(4) Bowles is a statesman with demonstrated ability to gain the confidence and respect of widely varying factions. He will be able, better than anyone else on the scene, to unify his party and, if elected, his country.

(5) Bowles has an impressive appearance and speaks eloquently and convincingly – so that he is well equipped to wage a strong campaign over television and radio.

(6) Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey – with a scattering of support for Jack Kennedy – are the choices of most liberals for the nomination. Yet Humphrey and Kennedy are likely to be eliminated before the convention by the loss of one or more primaries. And Stevenson, faced by the implacable and near-unanimous opposition of the professional politicians in his party, may find his road to the nomination tightly barred. Thus, liberal delegates to the Democratic convention may find their choice restricted to Stuart Symington and Lyndon Johnson, currently the two leading "unavowed" candidates. To forestall this unhappy choice, liberals must be prepared with an "unavowed" candidate of their own.

Daniel N. Hoffman
New York, N. Y.

What About Stevenson?

Sirs:

While I wholly approve everything in William R. Allen's "A Stevensonian Speaks" (*NR*, January 18), I am afraid he has omitted a potent factor working yeastily against Stevenson: the determined opposition of Harry Truman and some of his old-pro cronies. In my opin-

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ion Truman did as much, in 1956, to defeat Stevenson as Eisenhower did, and he seems in more determined opposition to him than ever now. Heaven protect the man (Stevenson) from his *should-be* friends! There are so many ignoble elements in the Democratic Party that I wish Stevenson could head some kind of Liberal-Fusion party. If only such a party, with such a head, could be effectively described to the American people – it just *might* work.

Corinna Marsh
New York, New York

Sirs:

Professor Allen's article "A Stevensonian Speaks" said just what is needed to refresh and encourage those of us who still share his enthusiasm for the best of all possible candidates. Personally, I will have to be dragged "kicking and screaming" to the support of any other candidate. *C. Fayette Taylor*
Brookline, Mass.

Sirs:

I hope that Stevenson will expose himself once again to the madness and mayhem of candidacy, that he will be nominated, and that belated wisdom will visit the American voters. Whether or not such splendid things occur, I shall, of course, remain a Stevensonian.

Randolph Mandel
New York City

Are We Getting Soft?

Sirs:

To be sure we have a serious moral crisis in our country, but Fr. Davis ("Are We Getting Soft?", February 15) is very silly to think that any significant number of Americans can be bamboozled back into that scholastic, feudal order of society which he naturally prefers. . . .There are many many of us who would honestly prefer even the present moral anarchy to this medieval notion of order. Thank God for Harry Golden!

Edwin Halsey
Assistant Professor of History
Claremont College

Sirs:

Fr. Davis' "Big Idea" (which seems to come from the lips of a benign Big Brother); Mr. Schlesinger's cyclical theory of American morality ("Like it or not, every generation has seemed to find it necessary to sink to the depths before it rises to the heights"); Harry Golden's sentimental eulogy of "living for tomorrow"; and Reinhold Niebuhr's elusive formulation ("We are no doubt not as honest as we pretend to be, but it would require a detailed study to establish that Americans today are more dishonest than those of past days, or more dishonest than peoples of other commercial nations.") – all of these attitudes are characterized by an attempt to transcend social reality rather than coming to grips with this reality. There is something terribly complacent about learned men (I refuse to call them intellectuals) who describe the society around them as complacent. This type of moral muckraking has become institutionalized in America, and when "criticism" becomes merely another institution, it loses its potency. In short, it becomes "soft."

Jonathan Schwartz
Cambridge, Mass.

Sirs:

May I suggest to John Steinbeck, to "Dear Adlai," to Carl Sandburg, and to the four men who write about America's softness in your February 15 issue, that they get into an automobile this summer and – without advance fanfare or carefully pre-arranged meetings – drive across America. Let them turn their fascinated gaze away from the lunatic few who make headlines with their "rotten richness" and study the vast base of the American pyramid where millions, whose chief concern is to keep eating and paying taxes, work as hard as any Egyptian slave ever did, have as little social or economic status, and are as greatly despised by the very people who lament about America's "sickness."

If America is indeed sick it is because these silent millions have wearily despaired of finding priest, pastor, rabbi, or savant willing or even able to discuss the great questions, much less grope toward some kind of answer. Having been conditioned to political, economic and social servitude, they have inhabited the post-modern world for the past 15 years, doing what must be done as best they can. Their one wish is that the head-wagging pundits who write so condescendingly from their own citadel of "fat-dripping prosperity" would catch up with them. *Marianne Barth*
Oakland, California

Dictatorship in Ghana?

Sirs:

Your recent editorial, "Dictatorship in Ghana?" (February 1) is one of the most perceptive discussions of democracy and the role of the Opposition in the new African nations which I have seen. While you do not and cannot deny dictatorial tendencies in Ghana, you put them clearly in perspective. Your treatment of Ghana can only be contrasted with the recent nation-wide telecast on that nation done by Chet Huntley. He, like the *Reader's Digest*, seemed to be preoccupied with totalitarianism in Ghana. My 14-year-old son, after watching the telecast with me, asked: "Is Nkrumah one of the bad guys?" Too many presentations these days are putting African leaders in this light, when the problems are more complex and the judgments ought to be more subtle.

Homer A. Jack,
Associate Director
American Committee on Africa
New York, N.Y.

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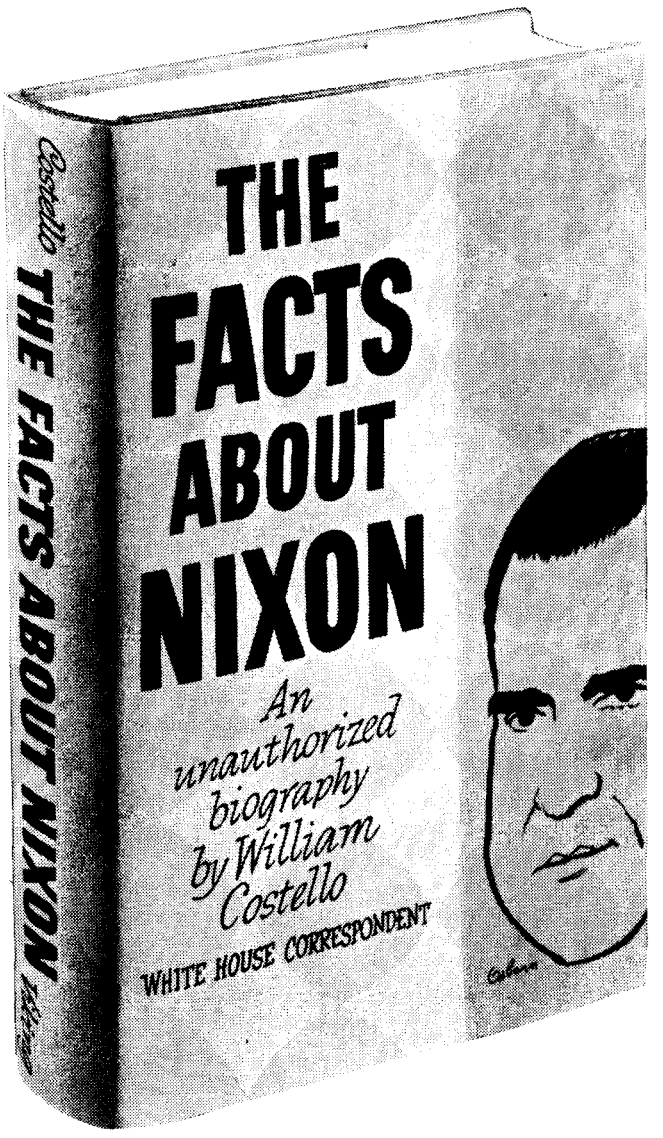
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